

SENSITIVE

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SITUATION(S) MESSAGE(S) LISTING

DATE 06/20/74//171

SITUATION: HAK TRIP  
 SUBJECT CATEGORY: TOSEC

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

O 112030Z JUN 74 ZFF6  
 FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

INFO AMCONSUL MUNICH IMMEDIATE 4401

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 STATE 123480/1

NODIS

S/S TEAM TOSEC 67

E.O. 11652 XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, EG

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

REF: SW 40008

SECTO 8

WHITE HOUSE PASS SALZBURG

FOR ATHERTON FROM SOBER AND HYLAND.

NOFORN DISSEM/CONTROLLED DISSEM/NO DISSEM ABROAD

FOLLOWING INR ASSESSMENT OF PNC MEETING IN CAIRO HAS BEEN  
 CLEARED IN NEA.

MORI/CDF  
 C03332381

State Dept. review  
 completed

A. SIGNIFICANCE FOR PALESTINIAN-ARAB RELATIONS.

1. THE MEETING BEGAN IN SUSPENSE, BUT ENDED IN ANTI-CLIMAX. BEFORE IT CONVENED, YARAFAT HAD ASSURED FAYSAL THAT HE WAS ON THE POINT OF EXPELLING THE REJECTIONISTS FROM THE PLO, WHILE THE REJECTIONISTS WERE THREATENING TO WALK OUT. IN THE EVENT, THERE WERE NO WALKOUTS AND NO EXPULSIONS.

2. THE MEETING HAD BEEN BILLED AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO RESOLVE ONCE AND FOR ALL THE DISPUTE BETWEEN NEGOTIATING FOR A MINI-STATE ON THE WEST BANK, AND CONTINUING THE ARMED STRUGGLE FOR THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ISRAEL. HOWEVER, THE DELEGATES WERE CONSTRAINED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES THAT MAKE ANY DISCUSSION OF A PALESTINIAN PRESENCE

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
 INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

PSN1014578

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TOR11622121

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AT GENEVA HIGHLY ACADEMIC, THEY TOOK REFUGE IN A CHARACTER-  
 ISTIC COMPROMISE THAT PLAYS FOR TIME AND CONTAINS SOMETHING  
 FOR EVERYONE. IN PARTICULAR, THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE  
 PRINCIPLE OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI  
 PEACE TALKS WAS LARGELY NULLIFIED BY UNREALISTIC LANGUAGE  
 INSERTED BY THE REJECTIONISTS.

3. POINTS SCORED BY THE MODERATES.

--YARAFAT WAS RECONFIRMED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PLO  
 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE  
 PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARY FORCES.

--PNC MEMBERSHIP WAS BROADENED TO INCLUDE A NUMBER OF  
 PRO-YARAFAT INDEPENDENTS FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

--THE PNC EXPANDED THE PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO 14,  
 INCLUDING SEVEN OF THESE SAME INDEPENDENTS, THUS STRENGTH-  
 ENING YARAFAT AND REDUCING THE RISK OF THE EMERGENCE OF A  
 RIVAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

--OF THESE 14, ONLY THREE REPRESENT THE RADICAL FEDAYEEN  
 ORGANIZATIONS, YUSUF SAYIGH, FATAH HARDLINER WHO FAVORS  
 MOVING PLO HEADQUARTERS TO ALGIERS OR BAGHDAD TO ESCAPE  
 THE EMBRACE OF THE MODERATE ARAB LEADERS, WAS THE ONLY  
 MEMBER OF THE OLD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NOT TO BE NAMED TO  
 THE NEW ONE.

--THE REFERENCE IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE TO THE "PEOPLE'S  
 NATIONAL, INDEPENDENT, EMBATTLED AUTHORITY" (SULTAT AL  
 SHA'IB AL WATANIYYAH AL MUSTAQILLAH AL MUQATILAH) IS A  
 GESTURE TO SADAT AND THE OTHERS WHO SEEK TO UNIFY THE  
 PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT UNDER A MODERATE PRO-  
 VISIONAL GOVERNMENT. SAUDI ARABIA AND KUWAIT ARE  
 SUBSIDIZING YARAFAT HANDSOMELY TO THIS END.

--THE PROVISION THAT EACH GAIN REGISTERED BY THE  
 RESISTANCE WILL BE CONSIDERED A STEP TOWARD THE ESTABLISH-  
 MENT OF THE PALESTINIAN DEMOCRATIC STATE APPEARS TO ENDORSE  
 THE MODERATES' DOCTRINE OF ACCEPTING WHAT TERRITORY MIGHT  
 BE ACQUIRED NOW INSTEAD OF HOLDING OUT FOR THE CHIMERICAL  
 DREAM OF REGAINING ALL PALESTINE INTACT.

--THE PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WAS CHARGED WITH IMPLEMENTING  
 THE PNC'S DECISIONS.   
 THIS IS THE AUTHORITY YARAFAT HAS LONG BEEN SEEKING.

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4. POINTS SCORED BY THE RADICALS:

--RESOLUTION 242, AT LEAST IN ITS PRESENT FORM, IS FLATLY REJECTED AS A BASIS FOR PALESTINIAN ATTENDANCE AT THE PEACE TALKS. THE PNC CONCLUDED THAT THE GENEVA TERMS OF

REFERENCE MUST BE REVISED TO PROVIDE FOR THE "NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE," ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, ONLY A JOINT US-SOVIET INVITATION IN THESE TERMS WILL SATISFY THE PLO,

--"BY ALL MEANS, INCLUDING ARMED STRUGGLE," THE NATIONAL AUTHORITY IS TO BE ESTABLISHED ON EVERY PART OF PALESTINIAN LAND TO BE LIBERATED.

--THE PLO IS TO RESIST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY PALESTINIAN STATE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF RECOGNITION (OF ISRAEL), CONCILIATION, SECURE BORDERS, OR RENUNCIATION OF THE RIGHT OF NATIONHOOD AND THE RIGHT OF RETURN TO THE HOMELAND.

--HUSAYN'S UNITED ARAB KINGDOM SCHEME AND THE "REACTIONARY" HASHEMITE MONARCHY ARE CONDEMNED. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IS INSTRUCTED TO WORK FOR THE CREATION OF A JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN NATIONAL FRONT THAT WILL SET UP A DEMOCRATIC REGIME IN JORDAN TO "COHERE" WITH THE PALESTINIAN STATE.

--THERE IS TO BE "UNITY OF STRUGGLE" AMONG THE PALESTINIANS, THE JORDANIANS, AND ALL THE FORCES OF THE ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

--AHMAD JABRI, LEADER OF THE INFAMOUS PFLP/GENERAL COMMAND, JOINS THE PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE FIRST TIME.

5. BALANCE SHEET.

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SECRET FINAL SECTION OF 2 STATE 123480/2

NODIS

S/S TEAM TOSEC 67

--THE LONG-AWAITED SHAKE-OUT IN THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT HAS BEEN POSTPONED ONCE MORE. JUDGING FROM AL AHRAH EDITOR BAHAI AL DINIS ADVICE TO THE PLO TO GO TO GENEVA AND "BEAT ON THE DOOR," SADAT WANTED THE PALESTINIANS TO SWALLOW THEIR PRIDE, UNILATERALLY RE-INTERPRET RESOLUTION 242 IN THEIR OWN FAVOR, AND CHALLENGE THE PARTIES AT GENEVA TO ACCEPT THEM IN THE TALKS ON THAT NEW BASIS. WHETHER OR NOT ARAFAT FAVORED THIS STRATEGY, HE COULD NOT HAVE SOLD IT TO THE RANK AND FILE -- AT LEAST NOT UNTIL THE PLO HAS AN INVITATION TO GENEVA. THE MASTER MANEUVERER WON SOME TACTICAL CONCESSIONS, BUT HE HAD TO ACCEPT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF THE EXTREMISTS, ALONG WITH A HEAVY DOSE OF THEIR UNCOMPROMISING LANGUAGE. HIS PREDICTION THAT A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD EMERGE FROM THE PNC MEETING HAS NOT MATERIALIZED.

--THUS THE 1974 MEETING LOOKS LIKE A STANDOFF. ACCORDING TO PNC CHAIRMAN FAHUM, THE RESULTS WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE NEXT ARAB SUMMIT AT RABAT IN SEPTEMBER. MEANWHILE, THE MODERATE-RADICAL POWER STRUGGLE GOES ON. THE SCHEDULED RECONSTITUTION OF THE PNC MAY THROW MORE LIGHT ON IT. TWO MONTHS AGO, ARAFAT REPORTEDLY TERMINATED THE SUBSIDIES IN CASH AND KIND THAT THE RADICAL FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS HAD BEEN RECEIVING FROM

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THE PLO. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE RADICALS WOULD HAVE STAYED IN THE ORGANIZATION WITHOUT SOME PROMISE THAT THESE SUBSIDIES WILL BE REINSTITUTED.

--THE PALESTINIANS REMAIN IN LIMBO, AS LONG AS THEY ARE UNWELCOME AT GENEVA, THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGOTIATIONS IS LARGELY ACADEMIC. AS LONG AS THE MAJOR ARAB GOVERNMENTS SUPPORT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE PALESTINIANS HAVE NO BASE OF THEIR OWN, THEIR "ARMED STRUGGLE" IS LARGELY INHIBITED. TO KEEP THEIR MOVEMENT ALIVE, THEY MUST CONTINUE TO TRY TO GET THE RESISTANCE EFFORT OFF THE GROUND IN ISRAEL, THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND PERHAPS JORDAN, MEANWHILE WAITING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE MORE SALUTARY FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

#### B. SIGNIFICANCE FOR ISRAEL:

1. RABIN TOLD THE KNESSET JUNE 3 "ISRAEL OBJECTS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SEPARATE ADDITIONAL ARAB STATE WEST OF JORDAN." "ISRAEL OBJECTS TO THE INVITATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF SABOTAGE AND TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS AS PARTICIPANTS OR OBSERVERS. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WILL NOT NEGOTIATE WITH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE DECLARED AIM IS THE ANNIHILATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL." THUS HE LEFT THE DOOR OPEN A CRACK FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH A PALESTINIAN DELEGATION PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL. HOWEVER, PERSUADING ISRAEL TO ACCEPT A PALESTINIAN STATE WOULD TAKE TIME AND A MUCH STRONGER GOVERNMENT THAN RABIN'S. IT WOULD ALSO REQUIRE A FUNDAMENTAL SHIFT IN THE PLO'S POSITION. THE RADICAL ELEMENTS IN THE PNC COMMUNIQUE MAKE ISRAEL'S OPPOSITION TO PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM EASIER.

#### C. SIGNIFICANCE FOR US INTERESTS AND FUTURE PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS.

1. THE PLO EMERGED FROM THE CAIRO MEETING STILL DIVIDED ON TACTICS, BUT RECONFIRMED AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM. ITS IRREDUCIBLE DEMAND IS AN INDEPENDENT STATE ON SOME PART OF PALESTINIAN TERRITORY.

THE PLO IS CAPABLE OF MAJOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DISRUPTION. IT IS LIKELY TO EXERCISE THAT CAPACITY WITH INCREASING IMPACT IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CONTINUES TO REGARD THE PALESTINIANS ONLY AS REFUGEES.

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2. HOWEVER, THERE WERE ENOUGH SIGNALS OF MODERATION IN THE PNC'S DECISIONS TO SUGGEST THAT THE PLO MIGHT SETTLE, ALBEIT RELUCTANTLY, FOR A WEST BANK STATE AND MAKE THE NECESSARY CONCESSIONS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. RECOGNITION IS THE KEY. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS UNLIKELY TO RECOGNIZE PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM WITHOUT THE CONCURRENCE OF THE US--THE ONLY AGENCY THAT HAS ANY CHANCE OF BRINGING THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ISRAELIS TOGETHER. THE QUESTION FOR THE US IS WHETHER THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE PLO ARE LESSER OR GREATER THAN THE PROBLEMS THAT WOULD BE POSED BY AN ATTEMPT TO CREATE A PALESTINIAN STATE.

3. WARNING: SENSITIVE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED. SISCO

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